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862 574 he himself has obtained by his own efforts, with a brother, relative, or friend who comes to the house. He is made to do so by force if he does not do so voluntarily, for this hospitality is the norm of conduct in La Guajira, as it is customary for the group to afford mutual aid, and the sharing of food is one of the most obvious manifestations of this. For the Guajiro, whether he possesses much or little, will share it with his consanguineous relatives; norms of hospitality founded on the basis of strengthening their own personal prestige, as well as that of their clan, oblige the individual to receive a guest courteously in accordance with his status and that of his group and with his standing as a visitor, a welcome that has the quality of reciprocating attentions of a similar nature received from the guest and a desire to repay the same with interest. For this reason the parents believe that they should make their child comply with these social precepts and show himself to be generous, such being ideal character traits in the opinion of the Guajiro. They regard such cases as an opportunity to train him to comply with established custom; they fear that in the future the boy may not comply with those principles which form the economic link between members of the consanguineous group and are the basis of clan social etiquette. For this reason they punish the child and oblige him to comply.

862 Another cause for punishment in this matter of food is the waste of food, more so if the child should stamp on it in a temper. In that case, he is severely punished. We believe that the Guajiro is right, because fear of the scarcity of food is an ever present problem which causes both adults and children to eat beyond the limit of their normal appetites in times of abundance. For this reason they believe that if the child wastes food he will suffer shortages greater than ever, and this punishment, by social law, will apply, as is natural, to all of them.

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867 2. A principle that the child must comply with under parental authority is submission to orders given him, whether

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867 positive or negative. He must fulfill as if he were a small adult the obligations that are imposed on him, carry out the chores that he is charged with, and assume satisfactorily the responsibilities he has to discharge. /30/

867 857 Thus, boys and girls must carry messages from one place to another, from the house to the fields, for example. The girls bring firewood from the woods and work in the kitchen, etc., while the boys carry out efficiently the pasturing of the herds. These are positive orders. Of negative nature there are, for example, those that forbid the climbing of trees for fear they will tear their clothes; sneaking away from home to go among neighbors, especially when the neighbors belong to a different clan, as the mother always fears that if for some reason or other her son has a quarrel with a playmate and they come to blows, or if directly or indirectly he causes blood to flow, she will be responsible economically for the damage done as immediate compensation payment will be demanded. They likewise fear that some criminal act might be committed by the children, the consequences of which would fall on the instigator.

867 3. Children should never fail to tell the truth; even though what they are saying is the product of childish imagination, this does not excuse or mitigate such a lack of truth; it is considered as an open lie by the family and clearly merits punishment. The child should never make a statement that is not true; that is to say, he is prohibited from lying in any possible form or manner. The Guajiro believes that if children lie they do it, deliberately, and if the vice is not corrected it will have troublesome consequences both in the family life and in the whole social collectivity because there is a compensation payment for slander, deceit, etc. Besides it could bring about difficult situations between individuals of the clan, with lamentable consequences. One exception appears to us to be that adults and even the older children boast of their strength, of their prowess in hunting, in war, and in their love affairs, and even about their economic standing. Frequently, they are imaginary happenings that they boast and crow about.

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861 your fault; and as you would not listen to me, you can suffer the consequences." Or she consoles him by saying: "Don't cry, it doesn't really hurt; It is not worth crying about. Be a man." If the one hurt is a girl, the mother soothes her saying: "Why are you crying when you are braver than any man? You always behave with more pluck than they do."

Another way to get them to respect an order is to have recourse to stimulation by comparison. "Your brother -- or so-and-so -- obeys /37/ his mother promptly and helps her without being told what to do." Or she tells him, to encourage his efforts: "Why won't you be able to do such a thing if X... who is smaller than you already can do it?"

Obedience and submission are also achieved with presents. When the parents go to a village, they bring back for the son something he has wanted. They will also promise him some gift, trying to satisfy his taste or the particular liking of the child. "I will give you such-and-such a sweet cake"; "I will give you this"; "I will let you go to that place"; "I will let you play with your friend if you will do what I ask promptly and well."

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769 867 The cult of the dead is fundamental in the social life of the Guajiro, and the child is instructed in it. This cult represents, moreover, another bond of union among the living, by its reminder of a tie of common blood, which relates to a third person to whom mutual relationship is recognized; moreover, it makes common cause with the incidents of his life and death, evoking a strong sense of solidarity.

The cult of the dead expressly implies a series of obligations in which the child is instructed and compliance with which is directly associated with the maintenance of the status of the dead person's family group, obligations which this training tends to render unavoidable.

Probably the cornerstone of this instruction is the daily calling to mind of dead relatives, for at three o'clock in the morning,

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867 more or less, when the people who sleep in the house have not yet risen from bed, the woman of most authority in the home -- the mother, the grandmother, the maternal aunt, or the eldest sister -- begins to recall their departed ones by a long-drawn-out wail the same as is customary in the lamentations at the wake, and immediately following she starts sobbing and in a mournful tone recites an account of her sorrows for the death of her relatives. She says, for example: "Oh! We have no mother; it is sad she did not die of some sickness, but that they killed her . . . ," and she goes on describing her death with all the sorrowful details: the humiliations and troubles she had to put up with from another group, emphasizing especially this death has not been satisfied, that is to say, is without a just compensation payment, that those who killed her are living tranquilly; that the family blood was spilled by people who are still unpunished. She then relates the social dangers that threaten her family at the moment from other groups, their anxieties over the coming summer /the dry season/ which will further impoverish /38/ them and thus bring them less justice, but returning continually to the theme of the dead relative, going back even to the long past death of some other member of the family who often even her own mother had not known, associating in this way the family dead of different periods, referring again to his or her natural or violent death with all its details, trying in accordance with the Guajiro point of view to discover the person who, for whatever motive, is responsible for the deed, making the whole weight of responsibility fall on him or her as a relief to her sorrow.

Once this narration has ended, the sobbing is suspended for a few minutes, and then another of the women of the house returns to the same subject in identical form, until every adult woman in the house has unbosomed her sorrow, referring to the past with its bitterness and to the anxieties of the future, recalling the memory of their lost ones and the causes of their deaths. This daily repetition results in the children's not only learning the cult of the dead but also the past history and the fellowship of feeling of the family group. They learn to admire the virtues

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769 of their ancestors or to sympathize with their humilations, share
867 in their hatreds and common sorrows, as well as to learn to perform this practice and repeat and transmit it when they form their own homes.

764 Furthermore, the presence and participation of the children
769 in the ceremonies which are performed at the death of a relative
867 are meant to teach them through experience each one of these ceremonies. Thus he learns and has engraved on him the feeling of mutual support that exists between related members of a group, such as the financial help that must be forthcoming, when it is a case of a poor relative, in order to be able to sacrifice animals and to see to the necessary amount of liquor and hospitality customary on such occasions, and the shrouding of the corpse, the etiquette that life beyond the grave demands from the wife, the relatives who intervene in these activities and their behavior (such as their weeping at the foot of the corpse), fasting and abstinence from meat: in fact every one of the established cultural patterns obligatory at these times, and it is an apprenticeship which the child receives through explanation and personal observation.

The child also shares in the family life during the days immediately after the burial; in the offerings that are taken to the dead one when it is feared, by magical indications, that his life beyond the grave is not normal for lack of something that he needs; in the periodical visits made to the grave and in the bonfires that for several nights are lit to illuminate the path of the dead.

769 Later he joins in the ceremony of exhumation. He knows
571 his part and that of his immediate relatives and, as in the
867 previous cases, each one /39/ of the traditional norms. But the most important thing about all these activities is not to learn to carry them out correctly, but to establish the sense of solidarity with the dead one, with the family, and with the society in which he lives. With the dead, by fulfilling an obligation of consanguinity in order to assure him -- even by coercion of

/39 cont./

769 his spirit -- a proper life in the future. With his family, by
571 mutual aid and solidarity in sorrow and in their joint economic
867 effort, and in the case of a violent death, by making common cause in order to obtain effective justice and the negotiation for the compensation payment, in order that the blood spilled may be properly atoned for.

He also learns the extent of the injury to a dead relative, linked to the mention of his name, which may revive all the sorrows, feelings, and painful past of the group.

Regarding society, the child learns how he, personally, must behave and also what the behavior of his group must be, the rules that he should comply with so that his prestige be not diminished since such would involve the lowering of the prestige of his group and have its repercussions when they try to obtain justice after any friction. This is what causes the bonds of consanguinity to tighten more and more and manifest themselves in the generous gifts each individual member subscribes to help another at a time when the clan, as a group, is being appraised by outsiders; and it is this that the child must learn, really learn: proper cult practices for his ancestors at the moment of their death and later, corresponding to their social status and that of the consanguineous relatives.

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604 The training of a child of the middle years is not connected to the localization of the family, because at this period he breaks away from the small family circle in order to live with his other relatives for long periods of time.

When the marriage is solemnized under the Guajiro rite and when that tradition is still followed, the young boy is initiated and instructed almost entirely by the maternal uncle of most importance or of highest standing in the family circle. So, once the little boy can get around alone from place to place, this uncle, who generally will have in his possession all the

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604 presents of livestock the boy received at his birth or later or the legacies from his father, takes him under his care. He, the uncle, is not only responsible for looking after his social conduct and for instructing him in normal behavior while he is under his
868 care but also for teaching him the work of pasturing. He takes
604 the boy with him /40/ when he is so occupied, and he passes on his knowledge in order that the boy may become a well-trained owner of livestock or, if he is poor, that he may learn how to look after them, because it is not infrequent that a Guajiro has in his charge the livestock of some rich man, and with these he teaches his nephew.

As the preference of a Guajiro for one special type of livestock shows up early in his life, the uncle should guide him along those lines, giving him every kind of advice in the best way to care for them, with practice to prove his theories.

•867 During this time the uncle not only passes on his knowledge
604 of stock raising to the boy but, when talking to him of the past of his group or family, when he recounts some incident, when correcting him or telling him a story, he passes on the strict traditions of the community. For it is the uncle at this period who is responsible for his nephew, and as he considers him his actual son, he tries to make of him someone similar to himself.

868 Another of the uncle's responsibilities is to show the young-
604 ster how to carry out agricultural duties at the right seasons. If he owns agricultural land he will usually give him a plot so that the boy can till it when he acquires the strength to do so; or else he continues to teach him on his own piece of land until he is trained in these activities. This handing over of a plot of land, as well as of his livestock when the boy is considered capable of handling his personal property successfully, is the basis of his family and economic independence and the road toward the purchase of his first wife, by which the boy becomes a man and is ready to live his life as an adult. This plot of
[428] land, for which he inherits rights of cultivation, gives him a certain prestige because arable land of fertile quality is scarce,

868 /40 cont./
604 and if he inherits a piece he will acquire the status of the uncle
[728] who has made him the owner.

The boy also learns from the uncle skill in certain tasks in which the latter is practiced, such as the making of harness and weapons, housebuilding, and other accomplishments like horse riding, lassoing, horse racing, etc.

867 Another very important function also learnt from the uncle,
604 although it might be self-taught, is that of arbitrator or cacique. From the uncle the boy takes in the legal tradition of the peninsula, and, listening to stories of acts which have occurred in the past, he learns the line of reasoning observed, the psychology, and the problems of his kin, the mastery of the language, all essential requirements for success when the responsibility passes into his hands.

868 While living with the uncle the boy also becomes adept
604 at hunting, as he accompanies him on his expeditions, during which he learns all the necessary details until he becomes expert in all /41/ respects, including laying traps to catch the animals that damage the crops. And secondarily, in addition to hunting and livestock or pastoral activity, the boy learns the art of stalking, which in hunting is important in order to get better results and is useful in stock raising also, for various reasons, such as finding a lost animal or following up thieves who attack his herd, etc.

868 Also, in war he is on this relative's side, because, accord-
721 ing to traditional Guajiro law, war unites the consanguineous
604 relatives on the maternal side. So he learns, when warlike deeds are spoken of, how to carry them out, and it is not unusual for him personally to experience the conclusions. He puts these ideas into practice when his kin go to war, headed by the maternal uncle of highest standing or the consanguineous head of most prestige. He goes with them to swell their ranks, so putting into practice what his theoretical education has taught him. Indirectly he has been training for the fray when employed in making weapons for hunting and perfecting himself

/42 cont./

868 them for long spells, working at her apprenticeship in the art,
883 which she must perfect and complete during the time of seclusion at her initiation, very likely under the vigilant care of the same women. /43/

867 Also, from her elder maternal kinswomen the girl acquires all the cultural legacy of the group as well as the particular traditions of her extended family. She experiences and participates in the daily cult of the dead, and at times when an exhumation or wake takes place she attends, accompanying the women of her family, so becoming initiated into all the ceremonies and prescriptions. She also goes with them when she is approaching the threshold of puberty to be company for them on their visits in order to learn comportment in social life; she also learns the norms of hospitality when visitors come to her home, and she has to assist her kin in fulfilling them adequately. Slowly, by indirect participation, she learns the use of love cóntras /charms/ in the feminine struggle for predominance in the polygamous household, and she comes to know of these problems as she sees them being worked out in the lives of her mother and her relatives. She also gets to know of the intergroup struggles and their consequences; of migration; of magic in all its intensity; of legal norms; things she learns by constant repetition of cases which have occurred in the peninsula and which she hears referred to by her relatives and friends, men and women who frequent the house.

All this cultural life reaffirms and completes the special training received during the seclusion which follows her first menstruation, when she is committed to the care of her kinswomen, who will give her detailed private and personal techniques and information and the specialties traditionally entrusted to certain families, if she is a member of such, such as, for example, the making of pottery, medicinal and magical knowledge of herbs, preparation of charms of various sorts, etc.

857 Childhood occupations. The occupations of the child are
42 determined by its sex, just as in the matter of games, so that